One curious fact gradually dawns on an American observer, 825
that almost no one is ever heard whistling, and one of 533
the reasons elicited is that it is supposed to attract
snakes. A few lizards are found in the houses and their 736
value in ridding the rooms of insects is recognised. In
winter most of the pests disappear, and their annoyance is
greatest in the warmest days of summer. A large percentage 164
of the townspeople do not consult the medical officer for 758
their ailments, and, coupled with the deficiency of infor-
mation in the hospital itself, it is thus difficult to
arrive at any exact answer to the question of health. In- 165
fant mortality appears to be high, but an individual who
passes adolescence seems to have excellent chances of
reaching old age. The number of men in the town vigorous 887
at sixty, seventy, and eighty years is surprising. Ra'uf
Effendi was considering a second marriage at sixty, to re- [761]
place the son who had died (at the age of eleven "of the
evil eye"), and Shakir Effendi led an extremely active
life at eighty-five, walking up and down the steep slope
of the town eight times each day. Dysentery troubles al- 164
most everyone, and there are a few cases of malaria every
summer. Most housewives have a series of remedies for 757
everyday complaints, but it cannot be denied that a 759
physician who commanded the respect of the townspeople
would find himself most welcome.

In concluding this section it may be observed that 177
there have been a number of changes in household life since

4: Hansen E-S (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

in its mother's arms or lap than in a cradle. If a child was to be put to sleep it was sometimes during the day laid on a mattress on the floor; if it was put in a cradle it was rocked to sleep. Women in a tailor's posture could be seen to stretch out the one leg to move the cradle without losing their balance. 854

Nursing. According to the Coran the period of nursing is a full two years. However, it says in the Sure 2, verse 233 that "no one should be charged beyond his capacity .... If they (parents) desire to wean the child by mutual consent and (after) consultation, it is no sin for them ....". In Southern Kurdistan children whose mothers were able to do so were nursed until they reached the age of two. However, many of the women I met were unable to nurse their children themselves. The reason for this may be the lack of proteins owing to the uniform diet, of which rice was the main constituent. Milk powder was sold in the city. It was bought and used, but with poor results, as it was not mixed with sufficient care, and adequate hygienic measures were not taken. On one occasion I saw a 4 months old baby, which was suffering from what the Arab doctor called "green diarrhoea" was given in turn a milk mixture, iced-water, and strong sweet tea. From my interpreter's home in Sulaimani the sick child was taken to the hospital, where it was examined by the doctor, but the mother refused to let it be admitted to hospital. On the days following a nurse came and gave it injections against the stomach trouble diagnosed, and gave instructions concerning what the child could - and particularly what it could not - eat; but her directions were not followed. As a last measure to keep life in the baby, a woman who was nursing her own child was summoned in order that the sick baby could be placed at her breast, and on the last night the baby was alive someone was sent to this woman to obtain some of her milk. My interpreter told me that the mother of the sick baby had also been unable to nurse the previous child, which, at the time I was staying in the home, was three years old. My interpreter had kept her little half-sister alive by the help of raw yolks of egg. One was so accustomed to a high infant mortality that a child's life was not considered assured until it began to eat with adults. A certain fatalism was evinced about the death of infants[1].

As Islam permits no form of birth control, pregnancies are as frequent as the long nursing period permits. For example, my interpreter's 35 year old mother had been pregnant 12 times, though on several occasions this had been interrupted by natural abortions. The remainder had run their time, but so many of the children had died young that when I visited the home there were only three living, a son of 20 and two daughters aged 25 (my interpreter) and 23. The other wife, "my father's wife" as my interpreter called her, was 37 and had given birth 15 times. Nine of these offspring were alive: five daughters (19, 17, 16, 15 and 3 years of age) and four sons (13, 8, 6 and 4 months).

Blackman relates that in some districts in Egypt a husband is not permitted to use scent whilst his wife is nursing in order that the child shall not get spots all over its body[2]. After I had used a not very strongly-scented lotion whilst changing in my interpreter's home, it was declared that the condition of the sick infant had deteriorated because I had been in the same room.

A boy, *kur*, is more desired than a girl, *kič*. Muhammad, who abolished the ancient Arab custom of burying new-born female infants alive, hints several times in the Coran that male children are more desirable than female[3]. The birth of a girl in Kurdistan might cause a husband, subjected to

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

when, at the age of 6–7, it has learnt in the Koran school the verses of the holy book and is able to take part in the daily religious exercises[28]. On the other hand the home, as I saw it in Southern Kurdistan, had a larger place for the child as a member of the community than is the case with us. Childhood was not a period separated from the adult age, but a preparation for it[29].

Just as the mother or one of the other women in the house found it natural to have the infant in her arms as soon as it was awake during the day, so she found it quite in order to have what we should call the "kindergarten child" at her heels all over the place, in many cases participating in the various daily tasks.

The "child at play" was an unknown phenomenon, and toys were practically non-existent. Compared with our Western education after the introduction of what is sometimes euphemistically called "the century of the child", it seems to me that we often keep our children out of the adult community, stressing the importance of the child's undisturbed playing age by toys, nurseries and so forth. Kurdish society was so arranged as also to include the child. At the various ages the child entered its definite place in the family hierarchy. It grew up well-trained in its coming duties, with an assured feeling of its position and what was expected of it. Without any sudden transition it glided into the ranks of the adults.

Both in the case of guests and members of the family, including children, a very polite social convention prevailed, though this did not prevent excitable or noisy conduct. The ideal was a calm and dignified behaviour, and this also meant that one always took one's time. This made social intercourse extremely pleasant and apparently had a calming effect on the children. It may well be that the thoroughly cultivated manner was mainly an outer form, but it helped to create a pleasant atmosphere in the house. All conversation took place in a calm and worthy way with numerous pauses. As Dr. Throop has already pointed out, the Oriental does not, like the European, regard it as good form to chat all the time[30]. The presence of the children was noticed remarkably little, even when there were many, because life in the house and their participation in the daily round provided a natural outlet for their energies. Many of the functions in the house which with us are performed by the water supply, gas, technical aids etc. necessitated with the Kurds human assistance which did not exceed the powers of children. Many of the amenities we consider a matter of course were replaced by the efforts of the young, just as the adults' mode of life and whole pattern of behaviour, the outward symptom of which is dignity, required the service that the children were able to provide. In individual cases this could result in misuse. I discovered that one lazy step-mother grossly misused and over-worked a 12 year old step-daughter. However, this was more due to ignorance as to what a child's strength could stand and how much sleep a growing child required than to ill-will. Life in Southern Kurdistan was hard for the adults also, child mortality dreadfully high. As in all communities at a medieval stage, only the best equipped survived. Medical assistance was rare, hygiene limited. The physical world in Southern Kurdistan was hard, but on the other hand the psychic climate was more clement than our's. Children were seldom treated angrily and I only experienced the hint of punishment. The children's participation in the activities of adults was apparently convenient with their natural impulses, and the company of grown-ups provided the children with so much entertainment and so many tasks that they prided themselves on performing, that conflict situations were confined to a minimum, and were not expressed in aggression with subsequent punishment and the